

632 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks,
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342 with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.
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361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are similar to a city block. Streets are laid out on a grid pattern, [363] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little [492] vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 Wards may have different characters, especially in large
[563] towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided [463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called
361 the dandal. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's [644] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the Shehuri) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

000 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

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ably 5,000 people present at one time in the market-place in the early afternoon hours when the peak of trade is reached, and this at a time of year when market activity is subdued.

- [492] In the area set aside for pack and riding animals there were: 36 camels, 60 cows (used by the Shuwa Arabs as beasts of burden), 56 horses, and approximately 300 donkeys.

The sellers in the market-place occupy the same stalls each week, and all those selling the same commodity occupy a common area in the market-place. A breakdown of the sellers in the Geidam market reveals the following:

1. a) 558 sellers of food-stuff.

Meat - 15 butchers; 5 dried meat sellers; 32 dried fish sellers.

Vegetables - 59 cassava; 43 onions; 33 karkua (kuha leaves); 42 peanuts, 31 crushed peanuts with oil removed.

Grain - 49 millet; 6 wheat; 6 rice.

[563] Butter - 25 Fulani women sellers.

Others - fresh vegetables, yams, lemons, cucumber, okra, squash, beans, and cooked foods eaten at the market.

b) 55 sellers of live animals.

It is difficult to estimate the number of sellers, as each does not sit before his produce, but there were 152 sheep and goats for sale, and 20 horses, young colts and elderly nags. Cattle are not sold at the Wednesday market; the cattle market is held twice a week in a separate area.

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44 goods, and European salt and sugar are also imported. Lastly,
438 kola nuts are not locally grown and must be imported.
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[17] Of the 1477 sellers in the Geidam market, only 226 (15 per
[226] cent) sell imported items; 77 of these sell kola nuts, and
this will be discussed separately; 70 sell cloth or clothing,
traceable to the disappearance of weaving as a local craft when
Western cloth first appeared; 46 are saborma. The remaining

44 33 sell salt, enamelware and rubber shoes. It is apparent
438 therefore that the Geidam market is essentially a local market,

serving the local community which includes the town of Geidam
itself and smaller villages within a radius of perhaps fifteen

• [172] miles. Villagers come into Geidam on foot, on horse, with
donkeys and with camels, bringing with them local produce, such
as foodstuff or livestock and locally made wares, which they
sell in the market, buying in turn the products made by Geidam
craftsmen. Merchants selling in the Geidam market are all
small-scale retailers, saborma, according to the Kanuri, who
buy someplace and sell elsewhere at a profit. Many of these
saborma transport their stock of goods from one weekly market
to another, using a donkey or a camel. About twenty miles east
of Geidam is the town of Digeltera, often called Sabdo (Sat-
urday) because its market-day is Saturday. Other surrounding
towns form loosely integrated market rings with alternating
market days so that the itinerant saborma can visit them each

44 in turn with his goods. Since Geidam is reached by roads from
438 both Maiduguri and Nguru, goods imported from the West are
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Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and importance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

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collectors.

651 The essential problem in the collection of nomad jangali is to find the cows and their owners, who are wandering in search of good grazing, and who are most likely to wander into the deeper thickets when the time for jangali collection nears. Once the cattle owners and their cattle are found, their names are recorded along with the number of cows which each man owns. Then, as he usually has no cash, it is necessary for the owner of a herd of cattle to sell some of them so that he can obtain cash with which he will pay the jangali tax. After his name is recorded, he does not attempt to evade payment. He is then given several weeks to pay his tax. Nomad jangali rates are 657 five shillings for each cow. If a man attempts to conceal cows, if he reports that he owns a number of cows and then is discovered to have more than announced, he pays at the rate of ten shillings per cow.

651 The prescribed method for collecting jangali is for the 654 Ajia personally to ride after the Fulani and collect the tax from them for their cattle. In a district the size of Geldam 657 this is obviously impossible. It is necessary for an Ajia to have many horsemen in order to canvass his entire district so that he will collect an amount in jangali which corresponds to the actual number of cows in his district. This is the primary role of the kabuna. There are several approaches to the problem of jangali collection, relying on differing tactics, all used by Yerima. One is to assign important kabuna, who can be

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651 trusted, to large areas. A number of less important kabuna collect the jangeli, under the responsibility of the chief kabuna in their area. The wakil, Wakil Ali, tours the entire district. Occasionally Yerima himself tours key sections, accompanied by a special wakil (formerly Wakil Guloma had this assignment, but he has been replaced). A second tactical approach is to keep a certain number of horsemen in reserve. When an unusually large number of cattle are reported in any one area, horsemen are rushed into that area, assuring that all the cattle will be reported and that the kabuna there will not be swamped in their work. A third approach which Yerima used successfully in Magumeri District is to divide the entire district into strips several miles in width. Several kabuna comb a strip moving from east to west looking for Fulani with cattle, while other kabuna are simultaneously combing similar strips to the north and the south. When a group of kabuna have gone through their own strip, they exchange strips with another group and return in the opposite direction.

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In Geldam today the Fulani are organized under Ardos and Mais. A Fulani lineage is under an Ardo, appointed by the Ajia, Yerima Mustapha. When an Ardo dies, his people bring the man that they would like to succeed the dead Ardo, usually his son, to Yerima who appoints him Ardo. The Mai governs over all Fulani in a large area; he has many Ardos under him. In Geldam District there are four Fulani Mais who fall within the territories of particular Lowans. These are Mai Musa, Mai Kusur, Mai

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As the sun set on Tuesday, April [GEIDAM] 30th, everyone looked closely for the new moon which would mark the beginning of the new month and the end of the fast. The sky was slightly cloudy and the sliver of the new moon could not be distinguished. The following day, therefore, would once again be a fast day. However, two boys came to the Alkali and swore on the Koran that they had seen the moon. In addition, it was announced over the radio that the moon had been seen in Enugu, so that the fast of Ramadan was in fact ended. Wednesday, instead of a fast day, was the festive Ngumari Ashembe (Ashem means fast), the great festival marking the end of Ramadan. Throughout the night guns were shot off, and drumming and algator (a reed instrument) playing were continuous at the door of the Ajari. On Wednesday morning at nine o'clock a crowd of more than a thousand people gathered in an open area to the southeast of the town, where a large tent had been erected, for communal prayers. Everyone wore new gowns (kulugu) which had been given as presents for the holiday. The Ajia rode out to the place of prayer on horse, followed by all his men in their most brilliant robes. After the prayers, led by the Liman Ngumaribe, had ended, all strolled back to the town, and the Ajia and his men paraded back to the Ajari. At the chinna of the Ajari a large crowd had gathered, and the Alkali along with the various NA Malams were seated in chairs. The Ajia followed by his men then paraded the length of the dandal to the Ajari entrance. This they did twice, then Yerima Mustapha remained seated at the entrance while his kabuna rode in waves toward the Ajari holding aloft their swords and

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Table XVIII

3. Possession of Western Material Goods. Do you have the following items: wrist watch, bicycle, radio, photographs of yourself, horse?

	Wrist Watch			Bicycle			Radio			Photographs		Horse		
	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	no	yes	had	no
Aristocracy	4	1	-	2	1	2 ^a	3	-	2	5	-	4	1	-
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	3	-	3	-
Canteen Operators	2	1	3	3	-	3	3	-	3	5 ^b	1	5 ^c	1	-
NA Malams	6	-	-	5	-	1	6	-	-	6	-	4 ^d	-	2
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	6	6	-	-
Craftsmen	-	2	4	-	2	4	-	-	6	2	4	1	4	1
Talaka	-	4	4	1	1	6	-	-	8	1	7	-	3	5
Low-status Individuals	-	1	3	-	1	3	-	-	4	-	4	1	2	1
Totals:	13	11	20	11	5	28	12	-	32	19	25	21	14	9

^a one of the aristocrats doesn't own a bicycle, but owns two automobiles.

^b four of the five traders have had passport photographs taken of themselves.

^c one trader does not really own a horse, but one is available to him.

^d two of the NA Malams own horses which are being used by people in other towns; they do not use them.

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*177 radio-owning groups knowledge of the Hausa language is almost
207 unanimous. In addition, all of the NA Malams speak English
191 (see Table XVI) as well, so that they can most benefit from
*63 possession of a radio, and in fact the entire group owns radios.

*177 Many individuals own photographs of themselves, but once
215 again the three groups who owned wrist watches, bicycles and
441 radios also tend to have photographs of themselves. In the case
[78] of the Canteen Operators an extraneous factor enters. Five of
the six Canteen Operators have made the pilgrimage to Mecca,
and in the course of making the trip, have had passport photo-
[77] graphs taken of themselves. Three groups, the Koranic Malams,
[63] the Kabuna, and the Low-status Individuals have never had photo-
[55] graphs taken of them, and among the Talaka only one of the eight
*64 has had his photograph taken.

*177 The last column in Table XVIII notes possession, or previ-
ous ownership of a horse. A horse is of course not an item of
*49 Western origin. It is included here to provide a comparison
[125] with some of the Western items previously discussed, particu-
larly the bicycle. In only four groups are there to be found
[65] individuals who have never owned a horse. Five of the Talaka
have never owned a horse, and in fact none of the eight Talaka
[64] owns a horse at present. Two of the NA Malams have never owned
horses and it is clear that for members of this group the ex-
pense of buying and keeping a horse is not the primary factor
as it is for most of the lower class groups. Two other NA Malams
own horses which they do not keep in Geidam as they have little
use for them. In comparison, five of the six NA Malams own bi-
cycles.

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*829 this respect, and the Aristocracy, with their high proportion
805 of complex answers (D) are the most acculturated. The Canteen
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*565 Operators are in the lower middle of the eight groups.

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Just as mere possession of a wrist watch and knowledge of how to tell time were not as revealing as a question about the usefulness of a watch, so, too, possession of a bicycle and knowledge of how to ride a bicycle are less revealing than the attitudes that people hold toward the bicycle. In this case
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*829 the individuals in the sample were asked to compare a bicycle
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[125] with a horse as to the relative usefulness of the two, and were then asked which of the two they would rather own. A good bicycle and a good horse cost approximately the same price in Geidan, and are in a sense comparable. The results of this question appear in Table XXI. Most people thought the horse more useful (28), some chose the bicycle (9), and a number stated that the two served different functions (7). Among the reasons offered in favor of a horse were the following: the horse can travel in the bush and can go from one town to another; the horse is the more useful in traveling to other markets; the horse requires no repairs, is useful for racing and ceremonial activity; possession of a horse is more prestigious. One craftsman stressed these latter qualities of a horse, saying, "If you ride a horse, everyone turns and looks at you. You're a big man." The reasons given in support of a bicycle include: a bicycle is more useful in the town; it's faster; it requires no care and little trouble; in particular it doesn't have to be fed

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Table XXI

7. 8. Comparison of horse and bicycle: which is more useful;
which would you rather have.

	Which is more useful?			Rather have	
	<u>horse</u>	<u>bicycle</u>	<u>different</u>	<u>horse</u>	<u>bicycle</u>
565 Aristocracy	3	1	1	2	3
463 Koranic Malams	1	2	-	2	1
554 Canteen Operators	3	2	1	3	3
NA Malams	3	1	2	3	3
Kabuna	5	-	1	5	1
Craftsmen	6	-	-	6	-
Talaka	4	2	2	5	3
Low-status Individuals	3	1	-	3	1
Totals:	28	9	7	29	15

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*177 constantly. Frequently the respective merits of each were men-
 825 tioned. A Talaka states, "A horse doesn't go fast, while a bi-
 829 cycle goes fast. The horse has more prestige (dareja)." An-
 492 other Talaka says, "In town you can go far, deliver messages
 493 and return very rapidly with a bicycle. But for strolling
 through the town a horse is better. You wear a large gown
 (kulugu) and big pants--it's pleasant (ka'il)."

*177 The prestige of the horse is reflected in several of the
 825 answers to the question: do you know how to ride a bicycle?
 829 Two individuals specifically indicated that although they knew
 492 how to ride, they did not ride a bicycle as it was not digni-
 493 fied (see Table XIX). Turning to the question of which one would
 554 rather have, a horse or a bicycle, two groups (Kabuna and Crafts-
 634 men) reveal themselves as particularly conservative and over-
 643 whelmingly choose the horse. It has already been noted that
 the horse is of particular importance to the Kabuna. Their
 653 reasons for selecting the horse are apparent. On the other
 hand, the Aristocracy are also closely tied to ceremonial ac-
 tivities involving the horse, yet they are the only group in
 which more choose the bicycle (3) than the horse (2). It would
 appear that the Aristocracy are in no doubt about the prestige
 due them, and lean more strongly towards some of the other fac-
 tors which favor the bicycle.

*177 Several other measures concerning the adoption of Western
 276 items were attempted. Among them were smoking cigarettes and
 273 drinking beer. Drinking alcoholic beverages, including Euro-
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632 others are of more recent vintage. Dismissal from office is occasioned by (1) the political manoeuvring of the District Head who wishes to replace a Lawan with one of his own followers; (2) migration out of a Village Area or complaints by peasants to the British against their Lawan; (3) failure to raise enough tax, or attempting to raise too much. However, if a Lawan is responsive to his seniors and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political organization.

The District Organization

632 In Bornu the Lawan represents a link between the higher political organization and the landed peasants. To the latter he is the most easily accessible member of the ruling class, and to many, especially in the hamlets, the exact nature of the political organization above 634 the Lawan is known in only vague outline. However, in terms of the 631 Emirate, the District Head (hereafter written DH) and his administration of the District hold a central position. If there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the District, or failure of any policy goals, it is to the DH that all agencies at the center turn for an explanation.

634 To the lowly peasant the DH is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches and courtly life. A Lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm, or take a tax census, but the DH rarely leaves his compound to go out among the people, except to collect the homad cattle tax, or to appear at the Shehu's court for some state ceremonial.

• [492] When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally, to the playing of pipe [411] and drum, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears and dane guns (muzzle loaders).

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The tools and household fixtures needed, include things like pots for water and cooking, calabashes and enamel ware dishes (often bought by the women from their own income, and made part of their own private property), leather water buckets and rope, hoes, axes, knives, spears and craft tools (if any are needed), mats, trunks, locks, and halters for horses and livestock. These are things which almost all Kanuri families own, and which depreciate, necessitating periodic expenditures for their replacement. Naturally, in larger households which use more water, sleep more people and produce more income, the [312] expenditures for tools and fixtures increases. Wealthy urban houses [354] have wells dug within the compound walls, making water easily accessible, while in Maiduguri, better class homes now have electric lights as part of the home fixtures.

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In the rural areas, fuel is old millet stalks or wood, gathered in the bush or bought from woodcutters. In upper class homes where women are often secluded and grain is purchased, then lack of millet stalks and female labour require that fires be fed from purchased wood. [354] All houses in Borno, except those few having electricity, need kerosene, sold by the bottle, or the filling for lamps.

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Transportation is necessary for visiting, going to market, or moving permanently to a new town or city. Modes of transport include foot, donkey, horse, camel, motor lorry, and all are commonly used. However, today the lorry is the most generally utilised form of transport for any long distance travel, while horse, donkey, camel and foot [484] are still used extensively for shorter moves in the locality. Camel caravans still ply northward from Maiduguri to attend markets at Gaidam and Nguru, one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles to the north-west.

• [492] At the local rural level, donkeys and horses are the most common means of transportation besides walking.